

Weekly Compilation of
**Presidential
Documents**



Monday, December 19, 1994
Volume 30—Number 50
Pages 2485–2508

Contents

Addresses to the Nation

Middle class bill of rights—2505

Addresses and Remarks

Radio address—2491
Summit of the Americas, Miami, FL
CONCAUSA agreement, signing—2493
Concert of the Americas—2493
Final session—2494
First session—2492
Goals of the summit—2485
NAFTA partnership, welcoming Chile—
2496
Reception for heads of state—2489

Executive Orders

Addition to Level V of the Executive
Schedule—Commissioner, Administration
for Native Americans—2503
Further Amendment to Executive Order No.
11755—2504

Interviews With the News Media

News conference in Miami, FL, December 11
(No. 83)—2497

Joint Statements

Leaders of Canada, Chile, Mexico, and the
United States—2497

Letters and Messages

Christmas, message—2504

Meetings With Foreign Leaders

Canada, Prime Minister Chrétien—2496, 2497
Chile, President Frei—2496, 2497
Mexico, President Zedillo—2496, 2497

Resignations and Retirements

Surgeon General, statement—2490

Statements by the President

See also Resignations and Retirements
California Bay Delta agreement—2504
Nobel Peace Prize winners—2503

Supplementary Materials

Acts approved by the President—2508
Checklist of White House press releases—
2508
Digest of other White House
announcements—2507
Nominations submitted to the Senate—2508

WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Published every Monday by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC 20408, the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* contains statements, messages, and other Presidential materials released by the White House during the preceding week.

The *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* is published pursuant to the authority contained in the Federal Register Act (49 Stat. 500, as amended; 44 U.S.C. Ch. 15), under

regulations prescribed by the Administrative Committee of the Federal Register, approved by the President (37 FR 23607; 1 CFR Part 10).

Distribution is made only by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402. The *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* will be furnished by mail to domestic subscribers for \$80.00 per year (\$137.00 for mailing first class) and to foreign subscribers for \$93.75 per year, payable to the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402. The charge for a single copy is \$3.00 (\$3.75 for foreign mailing).

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Week Ending Friday, December 16, 1994

Remarks on Goals of the Summit of the Americas in Miami, Florida

December 9, 1994

Thank you very much, Mr. Vice President. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for that warm welcome. Hillary and I and Vice President and Mrs. Gore are delighted to be here.

We thank Governor Chiles and Mrs. Chiles, the Lieutenant Governor and Mrs. MacKay, the members of the Florida congressional delegation, Senator Graham, Senator Mack, the distinguished Members of Congress who have come from all over the United States to be here. I want to say a special word of thanks to Dante Fascell, the honorary cochair of this summit and a great man. I thank the mayors of Miami Beach and Miami, all the people who are involved in the metro Dade government, all the people who have worked so hard on this summit.

You know, when we first announced the plans to hold the Summit of the Americas here in Miami, it seemed that it was a natural choice. This city, after all, has been variously described as the hub, the melting pot, the gateway, the crossroads of the Americas. But in the end we chose Miami because of the commitment of the people who live and work here to make this summit a success, led as the Vice President said by the Governor and the Lieutenant Governor.

I won't dwell on all the subtle and not-so-subtle details of our many conversations about this. But let me say that they persuaded me that this was the reverse of that wonderful line in the movie "Field of Dreams," where they said to us, "If you come, we will build it." And you have, and I thank you.

Your efforts have been extraordinary, and we are grateful for them. I have just been amazed at the energy that has come out of this community and this State over the last several months, the kind of energy that's supposed to be generated only by the Florida

Sun. You promised that the citizens of Miami would do it right, and it's clear that you have delivered. I think I can say for all of those who have come from around America to be here, we knew we would need to be warm in December, and now we are, in more ways than one. And we thank you very, very much.

History has given the people of the Americas a dazzling opportunity to build a community of nations committed to the values of liberty and the promise of prosperity. Now, over the next 3 days, the 34 democratically elected leaders of our hemisphere will gather to begin to seize this opportunity.

I convened this Summit of the Americas with three clear goals in mind: First, to open new markets and create a free trade area throughout our hemisphere; second, to strengthen this remarkable movement to democracy; and third, to bring together our nations to improve the quality of life for all of our people. If we're successful, the summit will lead to more jobs, opportunity, and prosperity for our children and for generations to come. We will have launched a new partnership for prosperity.

Today we gather in Miami to mark a quiet revolution and to launch a new era, for here in the Americas, as all of us know, nation after nation has freed itself from dictatorship and debt and embraced democracy and development. When historians look back on our times, they will marvel at the speed with which democracy has swept across the entire Americas. Consider this: At the time of the last hemispheric summit in 1967, 10 countries suffered under authoritarian rule, and there were fewer here. But today, 34 of the hemisphere's leaders have won their posts through ballots, not bullets.

This weekend we will welcome leaders like President Aristide of Haiti. We have all seen his commitment to reconciliation and the rule of law and how it is now moving his people from fear to freedom. And I hope I can take a moment of pride to salute the

brave American men and women in uniform and their partners from around the world who helped to restore that democracy and freedom to Haiti. We are very proud of them. [Applause]

Here at the Summit of the Americas, the people of the United States will meet a whole new generation of leaders, a generation no longer subject to the dictates of military juntas who stifle liberties and loot their nation, a generation that has proved in Central America that bloody regional conflicts can be peacefully concluded through negotiation and reform and reconciliation, a generation which has pledged to support democracy collectively wherever it is imperiled in this hemisphere. That's a commitment no other region in the world has made.

These leaders are here in Miami because they have tapped what Simón Bolívar, the Liberator of Latin America, called "the most sacred spring," "the will of the people." Today, just a day before the anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we honor them, all of them. And we must also honor the brave men and women who dedicated themselves to the cause of freedom and liberty and who today lie all across this hemisphere in unmarked graves. This summit is also a tribute to their astonishing sacrifice. And it is their triumph as well.

Only one nation in our hemisphere is not represented here. It's the only one where democracy is still denied. We support the Cuban people's desire for peaceful, democratic change, and we hope that the next time we have one of these summits and the people of all the Western Hemisphere send their leaders here, a leader of a democratic Cuba will take its place at the table of nations. [Applause] Thank you.

The wave of political freedom that has swept across the Americas has also been matched by unprecedented economic reform. In these times of very great stress, far-sighted leaders in nation after nation have adopted sound policies to tame inflation, to restore economic growth. They've cut tariffs, stabilized currencies, opened their economies to foreign investment. They have worked together to shrink mountains of debt. They've privatized; they've decentralized.

Argentina has cut its central government by 60 percent in 4 years. Bolivia has given back to local communities more responsibility for health, for education, for agriculture. Brazil has slashed its inflation rate. The so-called lost decade in Latin America is a fading memory. These reforms are working wonders. Investment is growing. The middle class is again on the rise. The Western Hemisphere now boasts the second fastest growing economies in the world. And if current trends continue, within just a decade our hemisphere will be the biggest market in the world, more than 850 million consumers buying \$3 trillion worth of goods and services. These are remarkable, hopeful times.

Here in the United States, we, too, have developed a comprehensive economic strategy to reap the rewards of this moment. We had a lot of work to do just to put our economic house in order. We've made deep cuts in our deficit, in Federal spending, in the size of the Federal Government. For the first time since Harry Truman was President, this year we will have 3 years of reduction in our deficit in a row. We are already taking our Federal Government down to its smallest size since John Kennedy was President. We have made major steps toward deregulation in banking and trucking and deregulating the States in the areas of welfare, health, and education. And we have just begun to move in this direction.

Our country has produced over 5 million new jobs in the last 22 months. We've got the lowest unemployment rate in 4 years and have been voted by the annual panel of international economists as the world's most productive economy for the first time in 9 years. But the thing that gives me the most hope, after all the years—nearly two decades—in America of American families working longer workweeks for stagnant wages and more fragile benefits, is that this year more high-wage jobs have come into our economy than in the previous 5 years combined. We hope that we are seeing the beginning of the end of a 20-year trend in stagnant wages, and the beginning of the restoration of the American dream by reaching out to the world and into our hearts.

Still, we know that millions of Americans have not felt this economic recovery. Millions

of Americans are still working harder for less and feeling very uncertain, even as they read all the good statistics in the newspaper. We have a lot of work to do. But the truth is that the United States has never been in a stronger economic position to compete and win in the world.

We're also taking bold steps to open new markets and to make the global economy work for our people. For 40 years, our markets have been more open than those of any other nations. We led the restoration of economic hope and opportunity after the Second World War. But now that competition is everywhere and productivity is growing and the lessons of management, technology, and investment are readily apparent to hard-working people all across the world, we cannot allow that to continue. We simply must be able to export more of our goods and our services if we are going to create more high-wage jobs.

Just a year ago yesterday, I signed into law NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement. You can clap for that. *[Applause]* When Congress voted for NAFTA, that event committed the United States to continuing leadership and engagement in the post-cold-war world. It marked a new era in world trade relations for America, and it gave birth to this summit, which could not have occurred if that hadn't happened.

In the first 9 months of this year, our exports to Mexico jumped 22 percent. Increased exports to Mexico and Canada have helped us to create more than 100,000 new jobs in America in this year alone. Auto exports to Mexico are up 500 percent. And I might say, Mexican exports to the United States are also up. It's been a good deal for us, a good deal for them. There has been no "giant sucking sound," except for American goods going across the border.

Last month in Indonesia, we agreed with 17 other Asian-Pacific nations, including Mexico and Chile, two countries represented here, to achieve free trade in the Asian-Pacific region by the year 2020. The tariffs will begin to fall and give us new access to new markets in the fastest growing economies of the world far before then.

And just yesterday I signed into law the bill implementing the General Agreement on

Tariffs and Trade, the largest agreement ever for free and fair trade. And GATT, like NAFTA before it, passed because we had strong bipartisan support in Congress. That is a pattern that must prevail as we continue to pursue open markets and prosperity in this hemisphere and around the world. And I strongly urge all the nations in our hemisphere who have not yet done so to follow what America has done and implement this agreement now. It is an important thing for our future growth.

Finally, let me emphasize that our economic strategy seeks to prepare our own people to fill the high-wage jobs of the future. For too many people, as I said earlier, these times are ones of great uncertainty. Pressures of the global economy have held down wages and increased job turnover for people who are not in a position to take advantage of the developments now occurring.

We owe it to those Americans to provide the kind of lifetime education and training that will give them a chance to win in this economy as well. And we must ensure that basic labor standards are preserved and promoted so that freer trade means better working conditions for all. After all, in America, our people, our workers, are the most important asset we have. And that is true in every other nation as well. That's why democracy and free trade go hand-in-hand. More free trade is worthwhile only if its benefits actually change the lives of real people for the better.

But as I have said over the last 2 years, that does not mean that we can repeal the laws of change, repeal the sweeping changes taking place in the global economy. If we do nothing to reach out to other countries than to expand trade, if we had walked away from NAFTA, if we had walked away from GATT, if we don't reach out here and throughout the world, the United States will still continue to suffer the burdens of trade, for we can't walk away. But if we reach out, as we are with NAFTA, with GATT, with the Summit of the Americas, if we act wisely, then we can make this new world work for us. Trade can be a benefit to our people. When we have the opportunity to sell American products and services around the world, we know we can compete, and we know that

means new jobs and a rising standard of living, the core of the American dream.

I will say again, we must in the United States not only create jobs but raise incomes. And we can only do that if we train people for higher wage jobs and if we create those jobs. One of the only ways we can create those jobs is to expand trade, especially in this hemisphere. So that's why every American worker in every part of the United States should be glad we are all here today at the Summit of the Americas.

Now, I hope I've established why that is my primary goal for this summit. We have a real opportunity here to build on the momentum of NAFTA and GATT. That's what this new partnership of prosperity is all about, creating a free trade area that stretches from Alaska to Argentina. Let no one underestimate the significance of this—[*applause*—someday I'll learn to coordinate my speech lines and the applause. [*Laughter*]

Let me tell you, though—think about it—from Alaska to Argentina. People have talked about free trade in this hemisphere for years. It's been talked about and talked about. The difference is, here in Miami we have the chance to act, and we're going to take it.

Let me try to describe in graphic terms what this means. Latin America is already the fastest growing region in the world for American exports. Of every dollar Latin Americans spend on exports, 44 cents buy goods made in the U.S.A. Despite trade barriers that are, on average, 4 times higher than ours, Florida alone sold almost \$9 billion worth of goods in the Americas in last year alone. And by the year 2005, if current trends continue, our country will sell more to Latin America than to Western Europe or Japan. That's why we're here. That's an investment worth making. Creating a free trade area would be good news throughout the Americas. Here in the United States, our exports to Latin America could literally double by the year 2005. That would create over one million new jobs.

Exports also create good-paying jobs. On average, export-related jobs pay 17 percent more than average wages in America. They're the kind of jobs that guarantee the families that we are concerned about a fair shot at the American dream. And that is why we must succeed here.

But trade is not the only goal of this meeting; there are two others. The second goal of our summit must be to preserve and strengthen our community of democracies. Continued economic prosperity clearly depends upon keeping the democracies alive and stronger. And we can only do that if we address the dangers to democracy that face all nations.

Many of the dangers we face—consider them: international crime, narcotics trafficking, terrorism, environmental degradation—these things can only be overcome if we act in harmony. So in the days ahead we will discuss ways to seize the assets of money launderers, to explore new ways like those developed in Chile to prevent corruption from corroding our democracies, to move forward on all of these fronts.

We must also keep our democracies healthy and open. Our hemisphere has come too far and the cost has been too great to return to the days of repression and dictatorship. So at the summit we will discuss how the Organization of American States can help to reconcile political disputes and ensure that democratic constitutions actually live and breathe.

Here in the United States we know that democracy is hard work. We've been at it over 200 years, and we know we still have to defend it every day. We have to continually review how well our governments perform and even whether they should be doing some things at all. Our own efforts to cut the size and cost and improve the performance of Government, led by the Vice President and his reinventing Government team, demonstrates the immense importance and the great rewards of this undertaking. And we, too, have only just begun.

The third goal of the summit is to bring our nations together to pursue sustainable development. That is far more than a buzzword. Our democracies and our prosperity will be short-lived if we do not figure out how to deal with the things that enable us to grow and come together and maintain our quality of life over the long run. Improving the basic health and education of our peoples is a key part of that sustainable development strategy.

Consider our common efforts to eradicate polio, banished from our hemisphere since 1991. That shows you what cooperation can bring. So at this summit we will discuss ways that we can combat poverty, combat disease, increase health care, increase education, remove threats from millions and millions of our fellow citizens.

Our summit agenda also calls for important talks aimed at making our environmental and trade policies mutually supportive. Threats to our environment respect no border and ultimately can undermine our economies. We must discuss initiatives that will make progress. We're going to talk about things like banning lead from gasoline in every country, conserving nature's diversities, spreading innovative environmental technologies. We will be doing the kinds of things that will permit us to sustain the remarkable trends of the last few years.

At the summit, in support of expanding trade and democracy and sustainable development, we will consider more than 20 initiatives, all told, to plot a course for the future. And I am convinced that we will succeed as long as we recognize that the bonds that unite us are stronger than the forces that divide us.

Once the United States and our neighbors were clearly divided by seemingly unbridgeable cultural and economic gulfs. But today, superhighways, satellite dishes, and enlightened self-interest draw us together as never before. Our economies are increasingly interwoven. And Latin American and Caribbean contributions to American culture, in great novels, fine foods, spirited music, free television networks, and many other ways, grow every day. By the year 2020, the United States of America may well boast a Spanish-speaking population second only in size to Mexico's. The connections between north and south in the Americas are, in short, a source of great energy. We have to strengthen these bonds. We've got to make them work for the benefit of all of our people.

On this very day, 170 years ago, the foot soldiers of Bolivar's army won the Battle of Ayacucho, the last battle for liberation between the people of the New World and colonial Spain. With that triumph, Peru pro-

claimed its independence, and a new era began in our hemisphere. It was an era that Bolivar hoped would produce greater unity among the pan-American states. Well, his dream was not realized in his lifetime, and generation after generation has struggled without success to make it real.

In our own century, President Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy, as Vice President Gore said, sought to unite the hemisphere by urging mutual respect among all and recognizing even then, long ago, the importance of our interdependence. Three decades later, President Kennedy's Alliance for Progress inspired the peoples of the Americas with its vision of social justice and economic growth.

Today, we can build on those foundations and do what could not be done in former times. We can create a partnership for prosperity where freedom and trade and economic opportunity become the common property of the people of the Americas. Just imagine it: a hemisphere where disputes among and within nations are peacefully and honorably resolved, where cultures and nations are universally and mutually respected, where no person's rights are denied and labor is not abused, where ideas and trade flow freely across borders, where work is rewarded and families and communities are strong. Just imagine it.

My fellow Americans, this is a magic moment. Let us seize it.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:30 p.m. at the Jackie Gleason Theater for the Performing Arts. In his remarks, he referred to Gov. Lawton Chiles of Florida and his wife, Rhea; Lt. Gov. Buddy MacKay and his wife, Anne; Mayor Seymour Gelber of Miami Beach; and Mayor Steve Clark of Miami. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Remarks at a Reception for Heads of State at the Summit of the Americas in Miami

December 9, 1994

Let's give all our distinguished guests a hand here. [Applause] To our distinguished heads of state, Vice President and Mrs. Gore, Members of the Congress and the Cabinet,

Governor and Mrs. Chiles, Lieutenant Governor and Mrs. MacKay, Mayor Clark, to the distinguished leaders from the business community and nongovernmental organizations that work so wonderfully together, to the co-chairs and others from the host committee who have done such a wonderful job of putting together this extraordinary event, and to all of our distinguished guests from other lands, let me say a hearty welcome to this remarkable summit.

Let me begin by thanking the wonderful city of Miami for rising so magnificently to the challenge of hosting the Summit of the Americas. If we leaders can match the dedication of the citizens of Miami and south Florida to the work of this week, we will truly bring our people and our hemisphere closer together.

The end of the cold war has given all of us a great opportunity to build bridges where, for 50 years, only barriers stood. We in the United States have worked hard to seize this moment for peace and prosperity, from the Middle East to Northern Ireland to southern Africa to Haiti. And through our commitment to expanded trade through NAFTA and the GATT agreement, we are doing our best to demonstrate our willingness to reach out to the rest of the world to promote the peace and prosperity we all want.

But here in our own hemisphere we are especially privileged, all of us, to live at a moment of great opportunity. And with that opportunity comes a heavy obligation upon all of us who occupy positions of leadership in this hemisphere. It is in the spirit of that opportunity and that obligation that I proudly welcome the 33 democratically elected leaders of the Americas to the United States and to Miami.

This week we have come together to build a better world and a better future for our children. Students of the Americas will recognize this as an old dream. In the 1820's, at the dawn of freedom for the new Latin American republics, Simón Bolívar dreamed the Americas could be the greatest region on Earth, I quote, "not so much by virtue of her area and wealth, but by her freedom and her glory." Now, some 170 years later, Bolívar's dream for the Americas is becoming

a reality. The people represented here are free, we are friends, and we are committed to creating the best century in our history. We can become true partners for prosperity, and we can begin this week.

Our goals for the summit are clear: We want to extend free trade from Alaska to Argentina, we want to strengthen our democracies, and we want to improve the quality of life for all our people. It is clear that these goals are bound together. If we grow more prosperous through trade, we will strengthen our democracies and our friendship. If we confront our common problems, the common threats to democracy, in a spirit of genuine partnership, we will increase our chances at prosperity. And if together we can confront our common challenges in the environment, in health, and education to provide for long-term sustainable development, both our prosperity and our freedom will be secure.

A partnership for prosperity, stronger democracies, improving our people's quality of life, these are the opportunities that lie before us. So, my fellow citizens of the Americas, let us make the most of them.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8 p.m. at the Biltmore Hotel Country Club. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

Statement on the Resignation of Joycelyn Elders as Surgeon General

December 9, 1994

Dr. Joycelyn Elders is a physician of outstanding ability, energy, and commitment. As a pediatrician, she dedicated her life to improving the health of children. As Surgeon General, she worked tirelessly to reduce teen pregnancy and AIDS and to improve the health of all Americans, especially our children.

Dr. Elders' public statements reflecting differences with administration policy and my own convictions have made it necessary for her to tender her resignation.

Those statements in no way diminish her devotion to her work and the enormous posi-

tive impact she has had on the problems she tackled and the people she served.

I will always be grateful for her service.

NOTE: This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

The President's Radio Address

December 10, 1994

Good morning. Earlier this week, I signed the GATT agreement, the most far-reaching international trade pact in our history. And this weekend in Miami, we in the United States are hosting the Summit of the Americas, where the leaders of 34 countries have gathered to promote trade in our own hemisphere.

This Summit of the Americas and GATT and everything we've done to expand international trade is really about opening up foreign markets to America's goods and services, so that we can create high-wage jobs and new opportunities for our people here at home.

But despite all the progress we've made—despite the fact that we have over 5 million new jobs in the last 22 months, the biggest expansion of trade in history, we've had more new construction jobs this year than in the last 9 years combined, and we've had a year of manufacturing job growth for the first time in a decade—in spite of all that, millions of hardworking people are still out there killing themselves, working longer hours for lower pay, paying more for health care or losing their health coverage, than ever before. More and more Americans, even in this recovery, are worried that they could lose their job or their benefits at any time. There's less disposable income for most working Americans than there was just a decade ago. Many people can't even imagine being able to afford a vacation anymore, let alone send their children to college. And I'm talking about hardworking Americans who play by the rules; they're tired of watching their earnings benefit people who don't.

There's no greater gap between mainstream American values and modern Government than we find in the welfare system. The welfare system was set up for all the right reasons: to help people who had fallen on hard times temporarily, to give them a

hand up for a little while so they can put their lives back in order and move on. And it still works that way for an awful lot of people. But for millions and millions of people, the system is broken badly, and it undermines the very values, work, family and responsibility, that people need to put themselves back on track.

The people who are stuck on welfare permanently will be the first to tell you that if we're going to fix it, we have to return to those values, and we have to put them front and center. People who have worked their way off of welfare, after being afraid they'd be on it forever, will be the strongest in saying we've got to put work, family, and responsibility back into the system.

We have to change welfare so that it drives people toward the freedom of work, not the confines of dependence. Work is still the best social program ever invented. Work gives hope and structure and meaning to people's lives. And we won't have ended welfare as we know it until its central focus is to move people off welfare and into a job so that they can support themselves and their families.

We have to change welfare so that it strengthens families and not weaken them. There is no substitute, none, for the loving devotion and equally loving discipline of caring parents. Governments don't raise children, parents do. There's some people out there who argue that we should let some sort of big, new institution take parents' place, that we should even take children away from parents as we cut them off welfare, even if they're doing a good job as parents, and put the children in orphanages. Well, those people are dead wrong. We need less governmental interference in family life, not more.

We have to change the welfare system so that it demands the same responsibility already shouldered by millions and millions of Americans who already get up every day and go to work and struggle to make ends meet and raise their children. Anyone who can work should do so. Anyone who brings a child into this world ought to take responsibility for that child. And no one—no one—should get pregnant or father a child who isn't prepared to raise the child, love the child, and take financial and personal responsibility for the child's future.

That's why welfare reform must include a national campaign against teen pregnancy and the toughest possible enforcement of our child support laws, along with the requirement that people on welfare will have to get off of it and go to work after a specified period of time. It also means that if you're going to require that, there has to be a job there for them and support for people who are working to raise their children in the proper way.

I've worked on this welfare reform issue for 14 years, since I first became Governor of my State. I've worked with other Governors, with Members of Congress from both parties, but most importantly with people on welfare and people who've worked their way off of it. I know that most people out there on welfare don't like it a bit, would give anything to get off, and really want to be good, hardworking citizens and successful parents.

There are a lot of ideas out there for reforming welfare. Some are really good, and some are just political attention-getters. Since I became President, I've worked hard on this. I've already introduced welfare reform legislation in the last session of Congress. We've also given 20 States relief from cumbersome Federal bureaucracy rules so that they can pursue welfare reform on their own. We've done that for more States than the previous two administrations combined.

There's still some disagreement about what we ought to do, but everybody agrees that the system is badly broken and needs to be fixed. It's a bad deal for the taxpayers who pay the bills, and it's a worse deal for the families who are permanently stuck on it.

Two days ago, after meeting with Governors from both the Democratic and Republican Parties, I announced that we're going to host a national bipartisan working session on welfare reform at the White House in January. I call for this session as a first step in an honest and forthright discussion about America's welfare system and how to fix it. It's not going to be easy, but our responsibility to the American people is to put aside partisan differences and to turn our full attention to the problems at hand. The American people deserve a Government that honors their values and spends their money

wisely and a country that rewards people who work hard and play by the rules. Working together, that's what we can give them.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 6:19 p.m. on December 8 in the Oval Office at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on December 10.

Remarks Following the First Session of the Summit of the Americas in Miami

December 10, 1994

Good morning. We have just completed the first working session of our summit on trade and economic integration. We are off to an excellent start. The 34 democratically elected leaders of our hemisphere have agreed to establish a free trade area of the Americas. This historic step will produce real opportunities for more jobs and solid, lasting prosperity for our peoples.

The agreement is specific and concrete. We have set the year 2005 as our deadline for negotiating a free trade area, and we have agreed that there will be real progress before the end of the century. The agreement will cover a comprehensive list of areas, from tariffs on goods and services to tariffs on goods, to services, to agricultural and intellectual property. We have set a highly detailed timetable that will include regular meetings of our ministers for trade. Talks will begin next month.

In less than a decade, if current trends continue, this hemisphere will be the world's largest market, more than 850 million consumers buying \$13 trillion worth of goods and services. When our work is done, the free trade area of the Americas will stretch from Alaska to Argentina. It is the key building block in our creation of a partnership for prosperity. It will build upon the many bilateral and multilateral agreements already existing between our nations.

We want to replace the many conflicting and different trade and other regulatory agreements with one that is consistent, while making sure to assist smaller economies in transition. We will ask the Organization of American States and the Inter-American De-

velopment Bank to assist in this transition and integration. And we have pledged that our free trade area of the Americas will not raise new barriers to nations outside our region and will be fully consistent with the rules of the World Trade Organization. We have reaffirmed our commitment to make our individual trade and environmental policies mutually supportive and to further secure the observance and promotion of workers' rights.

Let me emphasize, none of us—none of us—underestimates the hard work ahead. But from the leaders of our hemisphere's largest economies to the smallest, we believe the rewards will be great and very much worth the effort. We believe the agreement we have made today to launch the free trade area of the Americas will produce more jobs, higher incomes, and greater opportunities for all of our people.

From here we're going to a working lunch, where we'll discuss issues affecting sustainable development. Our final session this afternoon will focus on the steps we will take to strengthen our democracies. I can think of no more appropriate way to end this day, the anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m. in the Gardens at Vizcaya.

Remarks on Signing the CONCAUSA Agreement in Miami

December 10, 1994

Thank you very much, Mr. Vice President. To my colleagues, the leaders of the Central American nations, I am very pleased to join you today in signing the Conjunto Centroamericano-USA or, in shorthand, CONCAUSA. The United States is proud to become a partner in your alliance to promote sustainable economic growth. This declaration is the product of farsighted leadership by the nations of Central America.

A little over a year ago, when I hosted many of you at the White House, you proposed to establish an alliance for sustainable development. Just 9 months later you made good on your pledge. This alliance is a re-

markable sign of the powerful transformation you have achieved in Central America. You have demonstrated strength and energy in bringing your people together to resolve conflicts peacefully and turning your attention to creating new economic opportunity in your nations.

As the Vice President said, this alliance is already demonstrating that democracy, economic growth, and concern for the environment are complementary goals. Now, through CONCAUSA, all our nations will cooperate on a wide range of concrete programs. These include supporting protected areas from northern Guatemala to eastern Panama, phasing out the use of lead in gasoline, and strengthening environmental laws and enforcement.

We will also work to harmonize environmental rules to facilitate trade and investment. And I am committed to seeking prompt congressional passage of the interim trade program.

Your Excellencies, the United States is proud to join your partnership to promote sustainable development. This is a new day of cooperation between the United States and Central America, and we urge other nations to follow our lead. So many of the challenges we face know no borders, and we must unite to meet them.

Now I'd like to invite to the microphone the Secretary of the Central American nations, President Figueres.

NOTE: The President spoke at approximately 5 p.m. on the East Terrace at Vizcaya. In his remarks, he referred to President Jose Maria Figueres of Costa Rica.

Remarks at the Concert of the Americas in Miami

December 10, 1994

Thank you. Thank you, Michael, my fellow leaders of the Americas and their families, and to all of our distinguished guests tonight. I know you all join me in a heartfelt thanks to David Salzman and to our friend Quincy Jones and all the wonderful entertainers from all over our hemisphere who made us so wonderfully happy tonight.

We are gathered tonight as a family of nations, each with cultures that are unique and yet familiar to all of us. The arts help us to appreciate and to gain a deeper understanding of our hemispheric heritages, as well as the ideas, the voices, the images that we share as members of the larger American family.

We all know that art strengthens the bonds among us. Our nations grow ever closer as we delve into the souls of our culture through our artists: the soaring voice of a Placido Domingo, the rich performances of the wonderful, late Raul Julia, the magical words of Nobel Prize winner Derrick Wolcott, and the many artists who are performing for us tonight.

The poet Pablo Neruda, on receiving the Nobel Prize for literature, spoke of moving toward the splendid city. He reminded us that as we build a better world, the two guiding stars of our journey are struggle and hope. "Do not forget," he said, "on the way to the splendid city, there should be no such thing as a lone struggle and no such thing as a solitary hope."

Neighbor with neighbor, we have gathered here tonight in that spirit, to share our gifts, to contemplate our common destiny, to celebrate not only who we are but the joyous possibilities of what this splendid community of democracies can yet become.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9:43 p.m. at the James L. Knight Center. In his remarks, he referred to actor Michael Douglas, television producer David Salzman, and musician Quincy Jones, who served as master of ceremonies for the concert.

Remarks at the Final Session of the Summit of the Americas in Miami

December 11, 1994

The President. Your Excellencies, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, let me begin by thanking the members of the host committee and the people of the city of Miami and the State of Florida.

I am very, very pleased that we made the decision to come to Miami. I thank Governor Chiles and Lieutenant Governor MacKay

and all those who made the case that we should be here. Our hosts have done a tremendous job of hosting this historic event. At this extraordinary moment of opportunity and responsibility, they have made our work easier and, especially last evening, much more enjoyable.

The Summit of the Americas has more than fulfilled our expectations. Future generations will look back on the Miami summit as a moment when the course of history in the Americas changed for the better. We worked hard to arrive at this point. Yesterday, we achieved agreement on the many issues before us. Our talks were lively, open, and wide-ranging. They were filled with the spirit of democracy and mutual respect and a deep determination to increase the jobs and incomes of our people, improve the quality of their lives, and protect their freedoms.

Meanwhile, the First Lady's summit on children, all of our spouses working together, looking toward the future of our children in this hemisphere, in many ways captured what the spirit of this meeting is all about, for all of our efforts will fall more to the benefit of our children than to our generation.

Now I would like to ask the representatives of each of the major geographical regions of the Americas, the Caribbean, North America, Central America, and South America, to report on the agreements we have forged. In addition, we will hear from the leaders of two dynamic and vital institutions that are serving our hemisphere and that will loom large in our plans for the future, the Inter-American Development Bank and the Organization of American States. Then President Aristide of Haiti, who embodies our hemisphere's determination to uphold the sovereign rule of the people, will speak.

Let us begin the plenary.

[At this point, the final plenary session of the summit proceeded.]

The President. First let me thank all those who have spoken before. I thank the Prime Minister and the Presidents, distinguished President of the Inter-American Development Bank, Secretary General of the Organization of American States. I thank especially President Aristide for his moving remarks. And I thank all of you here present who have

supported the multinational effort to restore democracy to Haiti.

We come here to begin a new era, an era of real promise. When Vice President Gore and I asked the American people to give us a chance to serve, we relied upon two phrases that we said over and over again. One was "Put people first." The other was "Don't stop thinking about tomorrow." In this meeting, for these days, we have put our people first, and we have thought about tomorrow.

We are bound together by geography, by history, by culture, but most important, now by shared values: a ferocious devotion to freedom, democracy, social justice; a determination to improve the lives of all our people; and a determination to preserve the natural world we have inherited and that we must pass on.

We have tried to give life to these values at this summit by agreeing to create a free trade area throughout our hemisphere, to bring together our nations to improve the quality of life for our people, and to strengthen and make permanent the march of democracy. These achievements have been given concrete expression by our commitment to negotiate with specific steps a free trade agreement for a free trade area of the Americas by 2005.

This is more than words; this is a commitment to deeds. Free trade in our hemisphere has been talked about for years, but because of this process we've launched this weekend, it will now become a reality. Free trade will yield dramatic benefits in terms of growth and jobs and higher incomes. It will permit us to pursue economic opportunities and at the same time to reaffirm our commitment to promote the rights and interests of our workers so that all our people have the chance to benefit from free trade.

I couldn't help thinking, when President Figueres was talking about the gross national product measuring everything but what is most important to us, that that is true but that unless we attend to the health of our economy, the things that are most important to us are more difficult to achieve.

If you think about how many millions of people in this hemisphere, including in our country, are working harder today than they were just a few years ago for lower incomes,

if you think about how many millions of people have less security in the face of the bewildering changes in the world we live in, what it means is they have less time for their families, for raising their children, less time for leisure, less time for citizenship, less time for learning in a calm and open atmosphere what the major issues of the day are. And there is not so much room in their spirit for the clear head and the generosity it takes to be an effective citizen in a strong democracy.

So that all these things we care about, that we want for our people, require us to do our best to make sure that they can be victors in this great cauldron of change that is bringing on the next century.

We also vowed to do our best to make our governments work better; to protect our democracies by making sure we could do the job we're supposed to do well, and that we stop doing things we shouldn't be doing; to protecting human rights; to fighting illicit drugs and international crime; to rooting out corruption. And we agreed to pursue vigorously sustainable development.

In a way, sustainable development is an unfortunate phrase because it has so little poetry about it. But the meaning is very profound. It means to me that we must pursue short-term goals, consistent with our enduring values. It means we must pursue individual opportunity, consistent with our responsibility to our larger communities. It means we must share in the Earth's bounty without breaking our bonds with Mother Nature. It means we must take for ourselves in ways that leave more for our children. It means we must expand the circle of those who are able to live up to their God-given capacities, the women, the indigenous people, the minorities, the poor children of this hemisphere.

For all these commitments, I thank you, all of you who have come here representing all these nations. The agenda we have embraced is ambitious and worthy. We have actually committed ourselves to 23 separate and specific initiatives and more than 100 action steps protecting the diversity of plant and animal species, phasing out lead in gasoline, reducing infant mortality, improving education and health care. Our goal is to create a whole new architecture for the relation-

ship of the nations and the peoples of the Americas to ensure that *dichos* become *hechos*, that words are turned into deeds.

So as we come to the end of this historic Summit of the Americas, as we proclaim the dawn of this new partnership, as we say we have done this to put our people first and we have kept our eye on tomorrow, let us remember that the road ahead will be full of challenges and difficulties and that beyond all of the specifics of what we have done, perhaps most enduring is the friendship, the spirit of trust that has been built here. There is truly a spirit of Miami.

And in future years when the difficulties mount up, when it is difficult to sustain the hope about which President Aristide spoke so beautifully, may future leaders remember the spirit of Miami. *O espíritu de Miami. L'esprit de Miami. El espíritu de Miami.* The spirit of Miami.

Thank you all, and God bless you.

Now we will sign the declaration—if they will bring it to us.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:14 a.m. at the James L. Knight Center. In his remarks, he referred to Enrique Iglesias, President, Inter-American Development Bank, and Cesar Juairia, Secretary General, Organization of American States.

Remarks Welcoming Chile to the North American Free Trade Agreement Partnership in Miami *December 11, 1994*

Mr. Prime Minister, President Zedillo, President Frei: I would like to begin my remarks by expressing my appreciation on behalf of the United States to the leaders and the people of Mexico and Canada for being such good partners in NAFTA this last year. This has been a very, very good deal for the United States of America.

Beginning with our agreement with Canada, and with our completion of the NAFTA agreement, we have seen a substantial increase in trade and an increase in jobs, good-paying jobs, for the American people. In the last year alone, we estimate that 100,000 jobs have been added to the American economy because of increased trade opportunities

flowing directly out of NAFTA. We have a 500 percent increase in exports of automobile products to Mexico alone in the last year because of NAFTA. So while I think this is good for the world and good for our region, I want to begin by saying a special thank you, because this agreement and the good faith that has been followed in adhering to it has been good for the working families of the United States.

The second thing I would like to do is to say how very proud I am that we are welcoming Chile to the NAFTA partnership. This is a country, like our three countries, that has benefited from disciplined and responsible economic leadership. Chile has high economic growth, low inflation, has virtually extinguished its foreign debt, and has done so while manifesting the commitment to the labor and environmental standards and to the welfare of the people of Chile that are embedded in our commitments in NAFTA. So Chile is an ideal partner.

I think you could see from the comments of the Prime Minister of Canada and the President of Mexico, we are actually quite proud to be entering this partnership.

I think, furthermore, that this agreement we announce today will be further proof of our intentions, our serious intentions, to complete the free trade agreement for all the Americas by 2005. That is what we agreed to do in this summit. And this should be evidence that we intend to accelerate the process; we intend to keep working.

And let me say again, on behalf of the United States, NAFTA is a good deal for us; it will be a better deal with Chile in it. And we are honored, honored to be in partnership with a country that shares our values and that has demonstrated that it can succeed by doing the right things and doing them well in a free society.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 12:50 p.m. at the James L. Knight Center. In his remarks, he referred to Prime Minister Jean Chrétien of Canada, President Ernesto Zedillo of Mexico, and President Eduardo Frei of Chile.

**Joint Statement by the Leaders of
Canada, Chile, Mexico, and the
United States**

December 11, 1994

The Americas have been a flourishing of trade, investment and growth built on the strength of our economies. All of our countries have contributed to this success and are determined to ensure that it continues and is expanded through concrete action. The Summit of the Americas is, in fact, indicative of the hemisphere's commitment to take concrete action to achieve higher standards of living. We seek in this hemisphere to expand market opportunities through equitable rules and to eliminate barriers to trade and investment through agreed disciplines at high levels. This approach coupled with policies that address the conditions of labor and protection of the environment will be pillars of a new partnership in the Americas.

Today we are announcing our decision to begin the process by which Chile will accede to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). To this end, trade officials from the NAFTA partners have been directed to undertake the preparations necessary to begin formal negotiations, including focusing on relevant technical procedures and institutional issues. In light of the high priority that we place on this intensive preparatory phase, we have agreed that the first preparatory meeting shall occur before the end of December 1994, and that meetings with Chile will follow early next year. We have also instructed our Ministers responsible for trade to meet and review the work of the officials by no later than May 31, 1995 and to commence full accession negotiations expeditiously thereafter.

In launching this effort, we reaffirm that increased trade, integration and investment on the basis of agreed rules are vital to achieving sustainable growth and the creation of high paying employment opportunities in each country. We believe this action, combined with the other actions relevant to this Summit, is a clear indication of the determination we have to achieve a prosperous Americas.

**The President's News Conference in
Miami**

December 11, 1994

The President. Good afternoon. Ladies and gentlemen, this Summit of the Americas we just concluded represents a watershed in the history of our hemisphere. I want to begin by thanking again the people of Miami and the people of Florida for working so hard to make this a stunning success and for treating these deliberations with such great respect. I would say a special word of appreciation to the people who demonstrated in the Orange Bowl in such large numbers but in a way that spoke up for their deepest convictions for freedom and democracy for Cuba, in a way that was supportive of the other deliberations of this summit.

From my point of view, the mission of this summit was accomplished, first, in our specific commitment to a free trade agreement of the Americas by 2005, which, going with NAFTA, with Chile's coming into the NAFTA partnership, with the recent success of the GATT world trade agreement, puts us on the right road. And for the Americans here in the audience, I would just like to ask you to consider that just in the last 2 weeks the United States has concluded agreements to push for regional free trade in the two fastest growing areas of the world, first at Bogor in Indonesia with the Asian-Pacific economies and now here with the free trade agreement at the Summit of the Americas. These things, along with the implementation of GATT and the expansion of the NAFTA arrangement, will set the agenda for world trade for years to come in ways that benefit ordinary American families, that generate more high-wage jobs in this country and more opportunity in the countries of our trading partners.

Secondly, we reaffirmed our commitment to continuing to work together to strengthen our democracies and to promote sustainable development, to promote education and health care and labor standards and the environment, to fight drugs and international crime and corruption, in other words, to push not only for economic growth, for improvements in the quality of life. This spirit of Miami was embodied in 23 very specific dec-

larations and a specific work program that will begin immediately. That makes it quite a bit different than most summit declarations of the past.

And finally and perhaps equally important, we saw here in the interlocking networks of people that began to meet and work together both in preparation for this summit and then here—not just the world leaders but others who were here in huge numbers from these various countries—the beginning of the kind of working relationship that will be absolutely essential to bring this hemisphere together in an atmosphere of trust and a true spirit of partnership. So from my point of view, this has been a very successful summit, indeed. I am pleased. I am deeply indebted to the leaders of the other countries, as well as to the people who did all the work to make it a success on our side.

Helen [Helen Thomas, United Press International], I'm sorry about your accident last night, but you look just fine.

Taxes

Q. The water was fine. [Laughter]

Mr. President, there are strong indications that you read the election results, and as a result of them, you plan to give a middle class tax cut, and you're going to cut the programs from the poor. And my question is, are you going to promote or support a middle class tax cut, and are you going to cut programs for the people who are the most vulnerable and less able to defend themselves?

The President. Well, first of all, before the election, long before the election, I announced on more than one occasion, as did others who are in our administration, that we wanted to complete the work of being fairer in our Tax Code by providing a middle class tax cut that would go with what we did with the earned-income tax credit in 1993, which, I would remind you, gave 15 million American families with 40 million Americans in it—that's a significant number of people in a country of 254 million—an income tax cut. Already we have done that. I want to build on that. I want to fulfill the commitment of our campaign and my commitment to tax fairness and to give the working people of this country, many of whom have had declining incomes or stagnant incomes for a long

time, some benefit from the end of the cold war and the downsizing of the Federal Government, which is well underway. So I am working to do that. I am working to do that, however, in the context of not a lot of irresponsible promises but the real discipline of the real world. That is, I do not want to see this deficit start going up again.

That is my objective. I think we can achieve that objective without hurting—not only without hurting poor people who are poor through no fault of their own but while creating an environment in which the poor will be encouraged and empowered to work their way into the middle class.

Keep in mind—I think sometimes we lose sight of this—I believe—you know, people read the elections any way they want; I think the important thing is to do what we think is right. But there are two components to restoring the American dream today. One is rooted in the fact that working Americans without college degrees have stagnant wages or declining wages for a long period of time. We want them to have more security in their jobs. We want them to be rewarded for their work. We want them to stop losing their health benefits. The second is that the percentage of people living in poverty, including working people in poverty, is going up. A big part of the American dream has always been the opportunity that poor people had to work their way into the middle class.

So I don't believe that we should be pitting the middle class against the poor who themselves are willing to embrace the values of work and family and community. And I don't think that we have to do that.

So I think when you see our budget, our proposals, our cuts, they will be perceived by the American people as fair, fair to both the middle class and to the poor in this country who are willing to work hard to make themselves independent or who through no fault of their own are poor.

Q. So the answer is yes on a middle class tax cut?

The President. No, the answer is—the answer is what we have said for months and months and months: I intend to propose one as long as I can pay for it, without—that's the answer. But I do not believe that what we need in this country is a war of the middle

class against the poor, because most poor people believe in family, work, and community. Most poor people would gladly work themselves into the middle class. And a lot of people living in poverty today live in families where people work.

What I think—if you want to know what I think the people believe on this, it's what I believe, what I think most Americans believe, which is that no one should get a check for irresponsible conduct, that Government funds should not be used to reward irresponsibility. But if people are temporarily poor through no fault of their own, if they're doing their best to improve their lot in life, if they are responsible parents and trying to do the best they can, I don't think the American people want us to put a lot of folks in the street or take a lot of kids away from loving parents and put them in state-run orphanages or do any of that stuff.

I think that we can show discipline in welfare reform and discipline in a lot of these other programs and still not be anti-poor. What we ought to want is for the middle class to be rewarded and for the poor to be empowered to work their way into the middle class and rewarded for that.

Downsizing the Federal Government

Q. Mr. President, also on an economic issue, back in Washington your deputies are working on budget proposals that might include the elimination of a Cabinet department such as Energy or HUD. Do you concur with the idea that a Cabinet agency might have to be abolished? And if so, what are your thoughts on where their functions would go and why they should be eliminated?

The President. Well, I don't think we should—I think that's starting at the end rather than at the beginning. So let me try to answer the question.

It has been apparent for more than a year that the exploding cost of health care, which I was unable to persuade the Congress to act on, will cause the deficit to start to go up again next year, unless we take further steps.

The American people should know something I don't think they do know now, which is that this budget the Congress just adopted—the first budget adopted with all agen-

cies on time in, like, 17 years—reduced both domestic and defense spending for the first time since 1969; domestic spending was reduced. What did not go down was interest on the debt, Medicare, and Medicaid.

So what we have to do is to continue to reduce spending. If we want to have a middle class tax cut, if we want to invest more in the education and training of our work force, if we want to train people to move from welfare to work, we have to find the money to do that. So we're going to have to continue to cut back on Government.

Our people have been looking for, well, 6 months or more now, at what our options are. And what I instructed them to do was to basically ask a certain set of questions: Does this program, or would the elimination of this program, advance the interest of working people's jobs and incomes, of the desire to have poor people work their way into the middle class, of our desire to have safer streets and stronger families and stronger communities, of our need to be strong in the world, promoting peace and prosperity? Those are the criteria.

And I said, "Let's measure all this, everything the Federal Government's doing, and let's take a fresh look at it. And don't rule anything out, but don't make a lot of decisions until you analyze these things rigorously, because it's obvious that we're going to have to continue to reduce the size of the Federal Government, to give more authority back to States and localities, to consider whether we need to be doing some things at all."

But I think it's important to see this as a continuous process. In the last 2 years we deregulated banking, intrastate trucking; we deregulated much of what the Federal Government was doing with the States in education, in welfare and health. So I think we have to keep doing it. And I wouldn't rule anything out.

But the questions you asked me about any particular department are all the questions that would have to be asked and answered. If you ask me a purely political question, do I think it's necessary to do that for show, the answer is no, I don't think it's necessary to do that for show. Do I think it is terribly important that we continue the work of

reinventing Government, which the Vice President has spearheaded, that we continue to downsize the Government? Yes, I do.

Keep in mind, among other things, we are already obligated to reduce the size of the Federal Government by 272,000, and we have already reduced it by 70,000, but not more.

Now, what I would like to do is to alternate from here on in between journalists from other countries and American journalists. So, the gentleman over here. I'll do my best.

Customs Inspections

Q. It is really not easy for us to interview the President of the United States, so I beg you a followup, please. My first question is when we can really expect a change from the approach of the United States? You have told me in the past that you would like to be the best President since John Kennedy, and certainly many changes have been done to Latin America. But for all of us Colombian citizens, it's very difficult to pass through an airport in the United States. When will we see and expect a change?

The President. What I said was I wanted the people in Latin America to perceive the United States as a good friend of Latin America, as they did when Kennedy was President. I do believe that. And I don't know what you're referring to. I mean, we—you mean because they question you at the airports?

Q. [*Inaudible*].—Colombians that are honest people. Not all Colombians are—[*inaudible*].

The President. I agree with that. But we also—when people come into our borders, many honest people are tested and questioned, and their effects are examined. That's the nature of our system here. If you think that it's disproportionately prejudicial to Colombians, I will look into that. No one has ever raised that question with me before. But that's what border inspections are all about. You have to inspect the honest and the dishonest; otherwise you would never—no one knows who is or isn't in the beginning. That's why you have inspections.

Russia

Q. Mr. President, while you've been here, the Russians have moved into Chechnya.

And I'm wondering if you have any comment on that and if you have had a chance to discuss that with President Yeltsin, or if you plan to.

The President. Well, we haven't had direct discussions; President Yeltsin and I have not. But we have had some discussions with our contacts in Russia, and they with us. The first thing I want to say is, obviously, it's something we're monitoring closely; we're concerned about it. It is an internal Russian affair, and we hope that order can be restored with a minimum amount of bloodshed and violence. And that's what we have counseled and encouraged.

Cuba

Q. [*Inaudible*].—Cuban-American. You have said in the past that you feel our pain. Do the other 33 heads of state feel that pain? And if so, why wasn't it mentioned here today? Why does it seem to be so difficult to present a united front against the last remaining tyranny in this hemisphere?

The President. In our private meetings yesterday, a substantial number of the heads of state spoke up on behalf of democracy in Cuba and the need for changes, political changes there. And as you know, President Menem and one or two others did publicly when they were here, as well.

I think the differences, frankly, are over what the best way to achieve that objective is. Most of these countries don't agree with the United States policy—not because they don't agree with our objective; I didn't find much sympathy with the political structure in Cuba among these leaders. There was a great deal of feeling that it is urgent to restore democracy to Cuba, and it was very widespread. The differences were over whether or not the approach we have taken is the correct one. And I think because they couldn't agree on what to do about it, they decided not to say what they feel about it. But I don't think you should underestimate the depth of feeling throughout Latin America that every country should be free.

Russia

Q. In the past couple of weeks, Russia has taken a number of actions that raise questions about its reliability as a strategic part-

ner, specifically the failure to sign on to the Partnership For Peace, the U.N. veto on Bosnia, and then blocking a statement on Bosnia at the CSCE summit. Do these things cause you to question or have second thoughts about your policy of trying to work for a close relationship with Moscow?

The President. No. And I'd like to say why. They don't because Russia is still a democracy. Russia is still pursuing economic reform, which is critical to the kind of political stability that will lead to responsible partnership. Russia followed through in its efforts on the Non-Proliferation Treaty, and we now can see START I entering into force. There are no Russian missiles pointed at the United States for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age. And maybe more to the point here, Russia also kept its commitment to withdraw its troops from the Baltic States that, as you know, I worked very hard on with President Yeltsin.

When we first met, President Yeltsin and I did, back in the spring of 1993, I said then, and I will reiterate now, there will always be some areas of difference between us; there will be some times of greater or lesser difficulty. But I think that our continuing engagement with the Russians, our involvement with them, our working with them is quite important. We have some differences about Bosnia, as you know. But we have some differences with our close allies in Western Europe over Bosnia, as well.

I was disappointed, frankly, that the agreement about Russia's relationship with NATO and the Partnership For Peace was not signed, because Russia has participated in the Partnership For Peace. We have done military exercises in Russia as well as in Poland, and we had done our best to prepare the groundwork in cooperation. So I am disappointed about that. And obviously, I felt that the exchange of statements that we had in Budapest reflected some modification of what the United States thought the Russian position was.

But these things are to be expected in the relationships of great nations that have a lot of irons in the fire. And we'll have to—I'll watch them; I'll work on them; I'll do whatever is necessary to protect our interests. But I think, on balance, our policy has been the

right one, and I think there have been far more pluses than minuses to it. Consider what the alternative might have produced. I don't think it would have produced nearly as much as has been produced in the last 2 years.

Cuba

Q. [*Inaudible*—in order to bring democracy to Haiti. Will you be doing the same on Cuba?

The President. But what we did—we had a lot of support from other countries. And we have a lot of support from other countries to bring democracy to Cuba, but no agreement on what the policy should be. Our policy toward Cuba is embodied in the Cuba Democracy Act, which calls for an embargo and then permits calibrated steps toward normalizing economic and other activities in response to things which might happen in Cuba.

Most other countries believe that time is on our side, that if you look at what has happened in Russia and the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, that a more aggressive engagement would produce democracy more quickly. So that is the difficulty. We have a policy difference. You could see it in the recent U.N. vote.

I think what we need to do—and that goes back to the question that the lady in front of you asked—what we need to do is to try to persuade our friends, to say, "Look, even if you disagree with the specifics of American policy, you ought to keep speaking out publicly about this because you will change the environment." And changing the environment is an important thing. I think President Menem made an important contribution to that when he was here.

Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders

Q. Your Surgeon General, Joycelyn Elders, was forced to resign this past week over remarks she had made last weekend at an AIDS conference in which she appeared to be suggesting alternatives to dangerous forms of out-of-wedlock sex. She apparently was forced to resign because you didn't agree with those comments. I was wondering, what exactly is it that you didn't agree with, or what do you think was wrong about the way

she made the statement? And how do you answer those critics who say that her firing was essentially bowing to pressures from Republicans who just last week, Newt Gingrich, for example, asked for her resignation?

The President. Well, first of all, if I wanted to do it for political reasons, it would have been done before the election, not afterward.

Secondly, I think you ought to go back and read my statement. My statement makes it clear that I held her in the highest esteem. She is a person of great energy and conviction, and she's devoted her life to child health and reducing teen pregnancy and fighting AIDS. But there have been a number of things where we just have different positions, and I think that at some point the President is entitled to have people in certain positions who agree with him and who don't depart from the policy positions and the personal convictions that a President has. I think that that is a legitimate thing. It's not political; it's what is necessary for a government to have coherence and integrity and direction.

But I still admire her; I still like her. But we just have a whole series of differences which I thought made this an appropriate decision.

Argentina

Q. Did Argentina ask the United States to mediate between England and Argentina for the Malvinas Islands? And if that happened, what would be the U.S. position?

The President. Well, I'm in enough trouble already without answering that. [*Laughter*] No, let me answer. No one—President Menem has never asked me to do that, and I have found it quite useful in life not to answer hypothetical questions.

Q. A summit question?

The President. A summit question, one summit question? Sure.

Cooperation of Summit Participants

Q. Your aides are speaking now of—discussing your influence, your leadership in the summit, and it appears that the American positions did prevail across the board. I wonder, given the new partnership in this hemisphere, what you can tell us other countries brought to this summit and why we were not swayed in issues like Cuba and others?

The President. Well, first, there was a difference of opinion among them over Cuba, too, so it wasn't as if it was 34 to 1. The question of whether our embargo is the right policy was one of only many questions there. We had some good discussions about Cuba individually and in our smaller groups.

But let me also say that when we say the American positions essentially prevailed in critical areas, like in the free trade area, I think it's important to note that Mr. McLarty and Mr. Altman and a lot of others did an enormous amount of background work. I don't know how many times Mack McLarty went to various countries involved in this, and our trade people, Mickey Kantor and others. There was a lot of background work done to try to get a feel for what these other countries' concerns were, what their legitimate concerns were, so that there was really a shaping of the ultimate position coming up to the summit which reflected many of their concerns.

And I think you could hear some of their concerns, for example, in the statement of the representative of the Caribbean today. You know, if you listen to what he said, they have some very fixed views there, and they wanted to know that we were going to try to push for legislation in the Congress to make sure they wouldn't be disadvantaged by NAFTA. We said we would. That's an important thing they got out of the summit. Although I intended to do that all along, the fact that they made that case here at the summit, were able to do it when there was a very strong bipartisan delegation of Congress here, I thought was quite important.

To give you another example, a lot of the countries in South America are willing to, I think, work very hard to try to stamp out drug trafficking. But they wanted to know that we were willing to renew our efforts to reduce consumption in America, to reduce the demand for drugs in America, and to help them to consider alternative ways to move the farmers away from coca production. And a lot of that is implicit in the summit. They liked that. They wanted to know that it wasn't just the American position that they had to do more but that we would listen, that we would be willing to do more. And those are just two examples.

So there were many areas when—I mean, I appreciate the fact that people who work for me want me to—want to give us credit for things; that's their job. But you have to give these people an enormous amount of credit, these other leaders, because they gave huge amounts of time to this process before we ever showed up here. And they would say things like, "Okay, this is what you want to do in this area, and we will go along with that, but this is our concern." So we would work along to get their concerns worked out.

So I think that if the United States deserves any credit here, it is in the process by which we found common ground, by moving into the future in ways that took account of the legitimate concerns of all these other countries.

And if I could just give you one example in closing—I haven't seen it much noted in the last couple of days, but this summit represented a remarkable partnership between the United States and Brazil, two countries that have in the past been at odds over trade and other issues and at least have not had the kind of closeness of relationship that the two largest countries in this hemisphere ought to have had. And I am especially grateful to President Franco and to the Brazilians generally for the work they did to help us keep this together.

So I would give a lot of credit to the other guys. I think they deserve it, and I hope they get it.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President's 83d news conference began at 1:15 p.m. at the James L. Knight Center. In his remarks, he referred to President Carlos Menem of Argentina; Summit of the Americas Coordinator Thomas F. (Mack) McLarty; Summit of the Americas Deputy Coordinator Roger Altman; and President Itamar Franco of Brazil.

Statement Congratulating Nobel Peace Prize Winners

December 11, 1994

On behalf of the American people I wish to extend congratulations to Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, Chairman Yasser Arafat, and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres on being se-

lected as the Nobel Peace Prize laureates for 1994.

It was with great pride that we welcomed these leaders to the White House on September 13 last year to sign the historic Israel-Palestinian Declaration of Principles. It is fitting that this achievement be recognized by award of the Nobel Peace Prize and that the presentation take place in Norway, the country which contributed so much to making it possible.

There is still much work to be done by all who support and share with this year's Nobel laureates the goal of a just, comprehensive, and lasting peace in the Middle East. The ceremony in the Oslo City Hall not only marks a great achievement, it encourages all of us to redouble our efforts to realize the promise of peace for all the people of the Middle East.

Executive Order 12942—Addition to Level V of the Executive Schedule—Commissioner, Administration for Native Americans

December 12, 1994

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including section 5317 of title 5, United States Code, and in order to place an additional position in Level V of the Executive Schedule, it is hereby ordered that section 1-102 of Executive Order No. 12154, as amended, is further amended by adding the following new subsection to section 1-102:

“(f) Commissioner, Administration for Native Americans”.

William J. Clinton

The White House,
December 12, 1994.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 2:49 p.m., December 13, 1994]

NOTE: This Executive order was published in the *Federal Register* on December 15.

**Executive Order 12943—Further
Amendment to Executive Order No.
11755**

December 13, 1994

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, and in accordance with sections 3621 and 3622 of title 18, United States Code, and section 4301 of the Federal Acquisition Streamlining Act of 1994, Public Law 103-355, and in order to improve the acquisition of small cost items by the Federal Government, it is hereby ordered that Executive Order No. 11755, as amended, is further amended as follows: (a) by deleting the phrase "section 4082 of title 18 of the United States Code, the Attorney General" in the second paragraph of the preamble and inserting in lieu thereof the following phrase: "sections 3621 and 3622 of title 18, United States Code, the Bureau of Prisons" and

(b) by adding a new subsection (c) to section 1 of the order. The new subsection (c) is to read as follows: "(c) The provisions of this order do not apply to purchases made under the micropurchase authority contained in section 32 of the Office of Federal Procurement Policy Act, as amended."

William J. Clinton

The White House,
December 13, 1994.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register,
2:50 p.m., December 13, 1994]

NOTE: This Executive order was published in the *Federal Register* on December 15.

**Message on the Observance of
Christmas**

December 15, 1994

Warm greetings to Americans everywhere during this joyous Christmas season.

The timeless story of a baby born in a manger amid humble surroundings is the fulfillment of a promise, an affirmation of faith. Jesus' birth demonstrates the infinite love of God. We celebrate the gift of His life, and Christmas softens our hearts and rekindles in us a sincere desire to reach out to others in peace and friendship.

As we rejoice in the miracle of Christmas, we reflect on the Holy Family and draw strength from their example of faith. We are reminded that the bonds between parent and child, between husband and wife, and between neighbor and stranger are opportunities to answer Jesus' call to love one another, and we are reminded that one day we will be asked whether we lived out His love in ways that treated all of our brothers and sisters—even the least of them—as we would have treated Him.

In holy Bethlehem and throughout the Middle East, ancient enemies are putting aside their differences and coming together in goodwill. Recognizing that there is still much work to be done, let us build on this success and nurture love and caring in our world, in our neighborhoods, and in our homes. With this commitment, we can all share in the fulfillment of the Christmas promise.

Hillary joins me in wishing you joy and peace this Christmas.

Bill Clinton

**Statement on the California Bay
Delta Agreement**

December 15, 1994

When I campaigned for President, I said many times that environmental protection and economic growth can go hand in hand.

Today's historic Bay Delta agreement demonstrates that this goal can be achieved. It resolves one of the most contentious and important public policy issues affecting the State of California. It puts an end to a bitter conflict that has persisted for decades.

This is a solution that serves all the people of California. It means farmers will have a reliable supply of water to grow their crops; that commercial and sport fishermen will have reliable supplies of fish; that cities in California will have consistent, predictable supplies of water at reasonable rates; and that those who love the outdoors will find places throughout northern California with fish, birds, and clean, fresh water.

Under the leadership of Secretary Babbitt and Administrator Browner, the Federal Government aggressively faced up to its re-

sponsibilities, took a process that had previously failed, and made it work. We made certain all the Federal agencies worked together, not at cross purposes; we challenged our scientists to create new ways of using water more efficiently; and we invited all stakeholders to take responsibility for a comprehensive solution.

The result is an innovative plan that protects both water quality and water supplies; that enhances environmental and economic progress; and that provides the certainty necessary for water users to plan well into the future. It demonstrates that, with strong leadership and a cooperative spirit, environmental laws can be properly and productively enforced.

This historic agreement is good for economic growth, good for the environment, and good for California and the Nation.

Address to the Nation on the Middle Class Bill of Rights

December 15, 1994

Good evening. My fellow Americans, ours is a great country with a lot to be proud of. But at this holiday season, everybody knows that all is not well with America, that millions of Americans are hurting, frustrated, disappointed, even angry. In this time of enormous change, our challenge is both political and personal. It involves Government, all right, but it goes way beyond Government, to the very core of what matters most to us. The question is, what are we going to do about it?

Let's start with the economic situation. I ran for President to restore the American dream and to prepare the American people to compete and win in the new American economy. For too long, too many Americans have worked longer for stagnant wages and less security. For 2 years, we pursued an economic strategy that has helped to produce over 5 million new jobs. But even though the economic statistics are moving up, most of our living standards aren't. It's almost as if some Americans are being punished for their productivity in this new economy. We've got to change that. More jobs aren't enough. We have to raise incomes.

Fifty years ago an American President proposed the GI bill of rights, to help returning veterans from World War II go to college, buy a home, and raise their children. That built this country. Tonight I propose a middle class bill of rights.

There are four central ideas in this bill of rights: First, college tuition should be tax deductible. Just as we make mortgage interest tax deductible because we want people to own their own homes, we should make college tuition deductible because we want people to go to college. Specifically, I propose that all tuition for college, community college, graduate school, professional school, vocational education, or worker retraining after high school be fully deductible, phased up to \$10,000 a year for families making up to \$120,000 a year. Education, after all, has a bigger impact on earnings and job security than ever before. So let's invest the fruits of today's recovery into tomorrow's opportunity.

Second, bringing up a child is a tough job in this economy. So we should help middle class families raise their children. We made a good start last year by passing the family leave law, making college loans more affordable, and by giving 15 million American families with incomes of \$25,000 a year or less an average tax cut of more than \$1,000 a year. Now I want to cut taxes for each child under 13, phased up to \$500 per child. This tax cut would be available to any family whose income is less than \$75,000.

Third, we should help middle income people save money by allowing every American family earning under \$100,000 to put \$2,000 a year tax-free in an IRA, an Individual Retirement Account. But I want you to be able to use the money to live on, not just retire on. You'll be able to withdraw from this fund, tax-free, money for education, medical expenses, the purchase of a first home, the care of an elderly parent.

Fourth, since every American needs the skills necessary to prosper in the new economy—and most of you will change jobs from time to time—we should take the billions of dollars the Government now spends on dozens of different training programs and give it directly to you, to pay for training if you lose your job or want a better one.

We can pay for this middle class bill of rights by continuing to reduce Government spending, including subsidies to powerful interests based more on influence than need. We can sell off entire operations the Government no longer needs to run and turn dozens of programs over to States and communities that know best how to solve their own problems.

My plan will save billions of dollars from the Energy Department, cut down the Transportation Department, and shrink 60 programs into 4 at the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Our reinventing Government initiative, led by Vice President Gore, already has helped to shrink bureaucracy and free up money to pay down the deficit and invest in our people. Already, we've passed budgets to reduce the Federal Government to its smallest size in 30 years and to cut the deficit by \$700 billion. That's over \$10,000 for every American family. In the next few days, we'll unveil more of our proposals. And I've instructed the Vice President to review every single Government department program for further reductions.

We've worked hard to get control of this deficit after the Government debt increased 4 times over in the 12 years before I took office. That's a big burden on you. About 5 percent of your income tax goes to pay for welfare and foreign aid, but 28 percent of it goes to pay for interest on the debt run up between 1981 and the day I was inaugurated President. I challenge the new Congress to work with me to enact a middle class bill of rights without adding to the deficit and without any new cuts in Social Security or Medicare.

I know some people just want to cut the Government blindly, and I know that's popular now. But I won't do it. I want a leaner, not a meaner Government, that's back on the side of hardworking Americans, a new Government for the new economy—creative, flexible, high quality, low cost, service oriented—just like our most innovative private companies.

I'll work with the new Republican majority and my fellow Democrats in Congress to build a new American economy and to restore the American dream. It won't be easy. Believe you me, the special interests have not

gone into hiding just because there was an election in November. As a matter of fact, they're up here stronger than ever. And that's why, more than ever, we need lobby reform, campaign finance reform, and reform to make Congress live by the laws it puts on other people.

Together, we can pass welfare reform and health care reform that work. I'll say more about what I'll do to work with the new Congress in the State of the Union Address in January.

But here's what I won't do: I won't support ideas that sound good but aren't paid for, ideas that weaken the progress we've made in the previous 2 years for working families, ideas that hurt poor people who are doing their dead-level best to raise their kids and work their way into the middle class, ideas that undermine our fight against crime or for a clean environment or for better schools or for the strength and well-being of our Armed Forces and foreign policy. In other words, we must be straight with the American people about the real consequences of all budgetary decisions.

My test will be: Does an idea expand middle class incomes and opportunities? Does it promote values like family, work, responsibility, and community? Does it contribute to strengthening the new economy? If it does, I'll be for it, no matter who proposes it. And I hope Congress will treat my ideas the same way. Let's worry about making progress, not taking credit.

But our work in Washington won't be enough. And that's where you come in. This all starts with you. Oh, we can cut taxes and expand opportunities, but governments can't raise your children, go to school for you, give your employees who have earned it a raise, or solve problems in your neighborhood that require your personal commitment. In short, government can't exercise your citizenship. It works the other way around.

The problems of this new world are complicated, and we've all got a lot to learn. That means citizens have to listen as well as talk. We need less hot rhetoric and more open conversation, less malice and more charity. We need to put aside the politics of personal destruction and demonization that have dominated too much of our debate. Most of

us are good people trying to do better. And if we all treated each other that way, we would do better. We have got to be a community again.

Yes, some people do take advantage of the rest of us by breaking the law, abusing the welfare system, and flaunting our immigration laws. That's wrong, and I'm working to stop it. But the truth is that most people in this country, without regard to their race, their religion, their income, their position on divisive issues, most Americans get up every day, go to work, obey the law, pay their taxes, and raise their kids the best they can. And most of us share the same real challenges in this new economy. We'll do a lot better job of meeting those challenges if we work together and find unity and strength in our diversity.

We do have more in common, more uniting us than dividing us. And if we start acting like it, we can face the future with confidence. I still believe deeply that there is nothing wrong with America that can't be fixed by what's right with America. This is not about politics as usual. As I've said for years, it's not about moving left or right but moving forward, not about Government being bad or good but about what kind of Government will best enable us to fulfill our God-given potential. And it's not about the next election, either. That's in your hands.

Meanwhile, I'm going to do what I think is right. My rule for the next 2 years will be: Country first and politics-as-usual dead last. I hope the new Congress will follow the same rule. And I hope you will, too.

This country works best when it works together. For decades after World War II, we gave more and more Americans a chance to live out their dreams. I know; I'm blessed to be one of them. I was born to a widowed mother at a time when my State's income was barely half the national average; the first person in my family to finish college, thanks to money my parents couldn't really afford—scholarships, loans, and a half a dozen jobs. It breaks my heart to see people with their own dreams for themselves and their children shattered. And I'm going to do all I can to turn it around. But I need your help. We can do it.

With all of our problems, this is still the greatest country in the world, standing not at the twilight but at the dawn of our greatest days. We still have a lot to be thankful for. Let's all remember that.

Happy holidays, and God bless America.

NOTE: The President spoke at 9 p.m. from the Oval Office at the White House.

Digest of Other White House Announcements

The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue.

December 10

In the morning, the President attended a working lunch with leaders attending the Summit of the Americas at Vizcaya in Miami, FL.

In the evening, the President and Hillary Clinton cruised aboard *The Virginian* yacht to Fishers Island, FL, where they hosted a summit dinner at the Vanderbilt Mansion.

December 11

In the afternoon, the President and Hillary Clinton returned to Washington, DC.

In the evening, the President and Hillary and Chelsea Clinton attended the "Christmas in Washington" performance at the National Building Museum.

December 12

The President announced his intention to nominate Cutberto Garza, Shiriki K. Kumanyika, Kailash Mathur, and Suzanne P. Murphy to the National Nutrition Monitoring Advisory Council.

The President announced his intention to appoint Prudence Rice and Eugene Thaw to be members of the Cultural Property Advisory Committee.

The White House announced the President has invited President Zhelyu Zhelev of Bulgaria to meet with him in Washington, DC, on February 13, 1995.

December 15

The President announced the appointment of Ginger Ehn Lew to the Council of the Administrative Conference of the United States.

The President announced his intention to appoint Paul Hae Park to the Board of Trustees of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

**Nominations
Submitted to the Senate**

NOTE: The Congress having adjourned sine die on Thursday, December 1, no nominations were submitted during the period covered by this issue. The first session of the 104th Congress will convene on January 4, 1995.

**Checklist
of White House Press Releases**

The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as items nor covered by entries in the Digest of Other White House Announcements

Released December 10

Transcript of remarks by Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Mexican Foreign Minister Jose Gurria in Miami, FL

Transcript of remarks by Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Argentine Foreign Minister Guido Di Tella in Miami, FL

Transcript of a press briefing by U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor in Miami, FL on the plan of action and declaration for creating a free trade area

Transcript of a press briefing by Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Carol Browner and Director of the White House Office of Environmental Policy Kathleen McGinty in Miami, FL, on sustainable development and a partnership for pollution prevention

Transcript of a press briefing by Secretary of State Warren Christopher in Miami, FL, on the Summit of the Americas

Summary of the Summit of the Americas trade initiative

Released December 12

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers on the upcoming visit of President Zhelyu Zhelev of Bulgaria

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers announcing the President will address the Nation on December 15

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers announcing that National Security Adviser Anthony Lake will lead a delegation of senior administration officials and Africa experts that will travel to eight African countries from December 12 to December 22

Released December 14

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers announcing that former President Jimmy Carter has informed the President on his contacts with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers announcing a letter from Sally Katzen, Administrator of OMB's Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs, to Representative Newt Gingrich

Statement by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers announcing the administration initiative to revitalize the Haitian economy

Released December 15

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers

Released December 16

Transcript of a press briefing by Labor Secretary Bob Reich, Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen, Education Secretary Richard Riley, and Chief of Staff Leon Panetta on the middle class bill of rights

**Acts Approved
by the President**

NOTE: No acts approved by the President were received by the Office of the Federal Register during the period covered by this issue.